

## Unit 9: Ethnic Groups

### Objectives

At the end of this unit, you will

### Be aware of the following

- Passionate nationalist identity of many Balkan peoples
- Common Slavic heritage of South Slav peoples
- Serbian Orthodox Churches preservation of Serb culture during Ottoman rule
- Numerical leadership and dominance of Yugoslav Army officer corps by Serbs prior to World War II
- Peasant base of Serb cultural heritage
- Russian affinity for Serb causes
- Regional variety possessed by Croatia
- Marginal impact of Islamic fundamentalism on Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Collective presidency currently in force in Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Potentially disruptive nature of Serb/Albanian conflict in Kosovo region
- Kosovo's Albanian peoples high birthrate, low literacy, and high unemployment rate
- Napoleonic influence on Slovenian nationhood
- Shared Montenegrin and Serb political/cultural ties
- Unresolved status of Macedonian Slav cultural identity

### Identify

- Slobodan Milosevic
- Habsburg
- Dalmatia
- Ottoman
- Magyar
- Franjo Tudjman

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- Skopje, Sarajevo, Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana
- Alija Izetbegovic
- Kosovo
- Montenegro
- Vojvodina

## Realize

- Serbian Orthodox Church theology which legitimizes warrior priests and accents suffering
- Dispersed nature of many ethnic peoples throughout the Central/South Central Europe (SCE) region
- West European self-perception of many Croat peoples
- Nature of terrorist Ustase activity during World War II
- Theories concerning origins of Muslim Slavs (Bosniaks)
- Relaxed nature of Bosniak Muslim practice
- Historical lack of a center for Albanian cultural practice
- High literacy and prosperity of Slovenian peoples
- Large gypsy population of the SCE region

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*"Relationships in the Balkans are always 'interconnected'...extremely linked."*

--Aaron Friedberg, Princeton University

*"Rather than taking sides of challenging one of the other of these mythologies, Americans should be good listeners, show respect for the nations..., be sensitive to their feelings, and maintain an evenhanded approach to conflicts that defy easy resolution."*

-- Yale Richmond, From Da to Yes, p. 184

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**1. Introduction** Drawing primarily from the Library of Congress Country Study--Yugoslavia (Department of the United States Army publication) and From Da to Yes by Yale Richmond, this unit surveys major Balkan ethnic groups and highlights selected issues pertinent to hotspots of the current conflict.

**a. Passionate nationalism** In the text, From Da to Yes, Yale Richmond explains the nature of the passionate, extreme nationalistic identity found in many these nations in transition.



History, ethnicity and language all form a basis to claim lands once held by belligerents. Exaggeration is commonplace. Opinions, rather than facts, often guide beliefs. "Each nation...believes that it is the center of the world, history is on its side, and its cause is just." (p. 184).

**b. Common roots** Yet historically (sixth to eighth centuries), each South Slav ethnic group comes from the same Slavic stock. They possess many common cultural characteristics. Their languages contain many features which resemble each other.

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## 2. Serbs

"You Americans do not understand ethnic warfare because you fight only clean wars, like Kuwait and Vietnam. We do not have that luxury. We Serbs are fighting to save ourselves from genocide. In ethnic warfare the enemy doesn't wear a uniform or carry a gun. Everyone is the enemy."

-- Serb irregular fighter, "Who Will Sweep Up the Augean Stables?" by (MG-Ret) Edward Atkeson

*"The many attempts to eradicate the Serbian Orthodox Church have produced a theology that glorifies warrior priests, makes a cult of suffering and sees in nearly every outsider a heretic plotting to destroy the Serbian people."*

-- Chris Hedges, "If the Walls Could Speak, Serb Epic Would Unfold," New York Times, 10 Nov 1997.

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**a. A dispersed people** *"The Serbs were Yugoslavia's most populous and most dispersed nationality. Although concentrated in Serbia proper, in 1981 they also accounted for substantial portions of the population of Kosovo(13.2 percent), Vojvodina (54.1 percent), Croatia (11.5 percent), and Bosnia and Herzegovina (32.2 percent)."*



*Historically, the first cause of this scattering was the severe oppression of Serbs under Ottoman occupation, which led to migration...*

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After World War II, Yugoslavia's first communist government tried to define the country's postwar federal units to limit the Serbian domination believed largely responsible for the political turmoil of the interwar period. This meant reducing Serbia proper..." (Unless otherwise stated, all quotes come from the Library of Congress Country Study--Yugoslavia).

**b. Historical themes** "The Serbs' forefathers built a rich kingdom during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, then suffered under Ottoman occupation for 370 years (1459-1829).

During the Ottoman era, the Serbian Orthodox Church preserved the Serbs' sense of nationhood and reinforced the collective memory of past glory. The church canonized medieval Serbian kings; fresco painters preserved their images; and priests recited a litany of their names at daily masses. Until the nineteenth century, virtually all Serbs were peasants; the small percentage that lived in towns as traders and craftsmen wore Turkish costume and lived a Turkish lifestyle.

Until the twentieth century, peasant Serbs lived mainly in extended families, with four or five nuclear families residing in the same house. An elder managed the household and property.

The independence movement of the nineteenth century brought significant cultural changes to the Serbs. During that century, the scholars Dositej Obradovic and Vuk Karadzic overcame stiff opposition from the Orthodox Church to foster creation of the modern Serbian literary language, which is based on the speech of the ordinary people. Karadzic adapted the Cyrillic alphabet to the form still used in Yugoslavia."



**c. World war impact** *"After World War I, the Serbs considered themselves the liberators of Croatia and Slovenia--nations whose loyalty the Serbs found suspect because they had seemed unwilling or unable to rise against Austria-Hungary in the independence struggles that preceded World War I. The Serbian political elite of the interwar Kingdom of Yugoslavia was extremely centralist and accustomed to wielding unshared power.*

*On the eve of World War II, the Yugoslav Army officer corps and the civilian bureaucracy were dominated by Serbs (two Croats and two Slovenes were generals; the other 161 generals were either Serbs or Montenegrins).*

*Serbian [predominant influence] in interwar Yugoslavia triggered a militant backlash in Croatia, Macedonia, and Kosovo..."*

**d. Nationalistic passions** *"The Serbs' memories of their medieval kingdom, their 1389 defeat by the Ottoman Turks, their nineteenth century uprisings, and their heavy sacrifices during twentieth century wars contributed significantly to their feeling that they had sacrificed much for Yugoslavia and received relatively little in return.*

*In the late 1980s, a passionate Serbian nationalist revival arose from this sense of unfulfilled expectation, from the postwar distribution of the Serbs among various Yugoslav political entities, and from perceived discrimination against the Serbs in Kosovo in the 1970s and 1980s.*

*In this process, the Serbian Orthodox Church reemerged as a strong cultural influence, and the government of Serbia renewed celebrations of the memories of Serbian heroes and deeds. These events caused leaders in Slovenia and Croatia to fear a resurgence of the Serbian hegemony that had disrupted interwar Yugoslavia."*

**e. Bosnia and Herzegovina realities** *"In the republics of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Serbs' situation was more complex and potentially more explosive than in Kosovo. Despite denials from the governments of both republics, Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina complained bitterly in the late 1980s about ethnically based discrimination and threats. The Serbian government reacted with published exposés of World War II atrocities against Serbs and the Croatian chauvinism that had inspired them."*

**f. Cultural perspectives** The following traits, adapted from From Da to Yes, illustrate selected points of view applicable to Serbian peoples.



**(1) Texans of the South Slavs** The expansive, demonstrative, "larger than life" flamboyance and esprit of the Serbs equates somewhat to our own common notions of a Texan's spirit.

**(2) Peasant based** Much of Serb culture romanticizes and exalts a common peasant heritage.

**(3) Blustering talk and ethnic pride** The Serb proverb, "you may boast to strangers but tell the truth to your own people" seems to express a practical reality. A love for effusive talk--especially when primed with slivovitsa--can characterize many discussions.

**(4) "Macho Men"** As a whole, the "Marlboro Man" mystique could characterize the Serbs. They often display an "us-against-the-world" outlook, whether due to perceived or real injustices currently or in the past.

(5) **Russian connection** Common Orthodox and Slavic ancestry, plus common adversaries in World Wars I and II (Germany and Austria), tend to draw Russia to Serb causes.

(6) **The Bridge on the Drina** Dr. Ivo Andric, won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1961 for this novel. According to translator Lovett F. Edwards, Dr. Andric is a Bosnian Serb. Yet for him, the Bosnian and Serb religious subtleties, in a manner different than other writers of the region, *"have resulted in a deep understanding of peoples and creeds other than his own."* (Translator's Forward, The Bridge on the Drina, Ivo Andric, p. 7).

(7) **Current leaders** President Slobodan Milosevic (mil-OH-sha-veech) took office on 23 July 1997. Convicted war criminals Rahdovan Karadzic (rah-DOH-vahn KAHR-ah-jeech) and Ratko Mladic (MLAH-deetch) also held high leadership positions.

### 3. Croats

*"Croats want to be seen as West European...[They] claim the Serbian propaganda about Croatian atrocities...during World War II has given them a bad name. Nationalism, they say, was forced on them by what the Serbs have done. The world does not understand them."*

-- From Da to Yes, p. 193



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#### a. Population

*"The Croats, a people with long-frustrated national ambitions, have seen themselves for decades as cultured West Europeans shackled to the backward Balkans."*



*Yugoslavia's second most numerous ethnic group, the Croats accounted for 75.1 percent of Croatia's population, 18.4 percent of Bosnia and Herzegovina's, 1.4 percent of Montenegro's, 2.9 percent of Slovenia's, 0.6 percent of Serbia's, and 5.4 percent of Vojvodina's, according to the 1981 census. Small enclaves of Croats were as far removed as Kosovo and Romania. As the 1990s began, however, the Republic of Croatia anticipated radical changes...[that resulted] in the first independent Croatian state since medieval times."*

### **b. Historical cultural themes**

The following material identifies significant Croatian history cultural topics. For a more detailed look at Croatian history, see Unit 2 (Historical Overview, pp. 44 to 61).



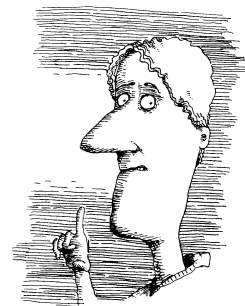
- **West European connection** Croatian cultural development generally follows that of other West European countries since the arrival of Croats to the area until the present.
- **Early literary documents** From the 10th century onwards, records using Croatian Glagolitic (glag-ah-LIT-ik) and Cyrillic letters exist. The Tablet of Baska (A.D. 1100), with its engraved Glagolitic characters, exhibits a well developed language.
- **Legal** In addition to poems, legends, prayers and books written and copied in monasteries, law codexes and statutes exist. These legal articles, developed in Croatian coastal cities, foreshadowed judicial expressions throughout central Europe and the Mediterranean.
- **Printing** Twenty-seven years after the Gutenberg Bible, a Glagolitic Missal was printed (1495). In 1530, Croats had their first printing house.

- **Humanism and the Renaissance** Dalmatian cities of Zadar, Split and Dubrovnik became centers of humanism and Renaissance expression.

**Literary figures** Renaissance poet and scholar of Split, **Marko Marulic** (1450 - 1524) wrote the first Croatian play on a secular theme entitled "Judith" (1501). Called the founder of Croatian literature, Marulic was well-known among European writers, following a tradition of using both Latin and the vernacular. Dubrovnik author **Marin Drzic**, one of the best known Croatian literary figures, wrote Skup some 100 years before Moliere wrote his *Miserables*.

**Ivan Gundulic**, 17th century poet from Dubrovnik, is known for his love poems, plays, and translations of King David's Psalms. **August Senoa**, the "Croatian Sir Walter Scott," wrote during the 19th century. In the 20th century, poet/writers **Valadimir Nazor** and **Goran Kovacic** joined the anti-facist Partisans, with Kovacic losing his life in the ensuing conflict.

- **Sculpture** Famous sculptor and political figure **Ivan Mestrovic**, who died in 1962, has works throughout the United States (Chicago, Notre Dame, Washington, D.C.)



- **Science** Dubrovnik's **Rudjer Boshkovic** was an 18th century scientist, an expert in physics, astronomy and philosophy.
- **Grammar** In 1604, the first Croatian grammar was published.

**c. Social structure** *"Before the 1848 revolution, the Croats' social structure was rigidly stratified. The peasantry consisted of serfs bound to the land, semi-serfs who held land on condition of labor and other dues, and landless peasant-nobles."*

*At the end of the nineteenth century, only a very small proportion of Croatia's total population was employed in industry. The landowner class kept the peasants uneducated to ensure easy exploitation.*

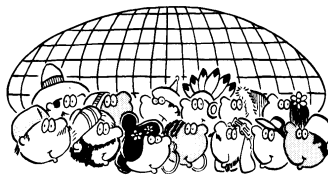
*Among the peasants in Croatia, traditional extended families gradually gave way to individual family farms after the abolition of serfdom in 1848, but rural overpopulation and land fragmentation brought hunger to many areas by the turn of the century. During the late 1800s, many Croats emigrated to the Americas and Australia."*

**d. World wars** For a detailed account of Croatian history during the period of world wars, see Unit 2, Historical Overview, pp. 44 to 61.

**e. Tito realities** "After 1945, Yugoslavia's Communist regime worked to snuff out manifestations of Croatian nationalism wherever they appeared, labeling advocates of Croatian national interests as "neo-Ustase." But in the 1970s and 1980s, Croatia remained the second most prosperous Yugoslav republic. National aspirations in the early 1970s, reached a brief peak in what was called the Croatian Spring, but their threat to the federation caused Tito to crack down severely in 1972."

**f. Independence** For a detailed perspective of post 1989 events in Croatia, see Unit 2, Historical Overview, pp. 44 to 61.

**g. Cultural perspectives** Traits applicable to Croatian peoples include



**(1) Regional variety** From Zagreb, an urban center not unlike Austria, to the more Mediterranean Dalmatian Coast, to Krajina and Slavonia areas, Croats possess much diversity.

**(2) Tall and Catholic** Most Croats tend to be Roman Catholic. They are more likely to be taller, more restrained and less open than other Balkan peoples.

**(3) Refined cultural tradition** Croatia possesses a rich tradition of achievement in literature, architecture, the arts and sciences. This tradition gives evidence to Croatia's steady interaction with Western European cultural centers.

**(4) Last defense** Historically, much of Europe saw Croatia as a defensive outpost against the Ottoman empire. Croats tend to identify with cultured West European practices. Espresso or cappuccino is preferred to Turkish coffee.

**(5) Current leadership** President Franjo Tudjman (fran-yo TOOJ-mahn) took office 30 May 1990.

## 4. Bosniaks

*"Muslim Slavs, many of them fair-haired and blue-eyed, are better known for eating pork and drinking plum brandy than holding fundamentalist views...Muslim culture flourished--from ancient mosques, Turkish baths and covered bazaars to Muslim rock groups [Dino Mellin] and Hari Mata Hari."*

-- Tim Post, "Making War on Muslims," Newsweek, 10 Aug 1992, p. 40

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### a. Official recognition

*"Beginning in the late 1960s, the Yugoslav government recognized the Muslim Slavs of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a particular 'nation' and not merely as a religious group. Belgrade granted this recognition in an effort to resolve the centuries-old struggle in which Serbs and Croats claimed ethnic ties with the Muslim Slavs to gain a political majority in the disputed republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina."*

Muslim Slavs lived in every Yugoslav republic and province, but by far the largest concentration was in Bosnia and Herzegovina (39.5 percent of the population). In the 1980s, Montenegro was 13.4 percent Muslim Slavs, Serbia 2.3 percent, and Kosovo 3.7 percent."

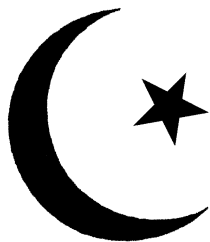


**b. Historical origins** "Controversy surrounds the geographic and ethnic origins of the Muslim Slavs. The best-known theory holds that during the Middle Ages Slavs in Bosnia and Herzegovina embraced a heretical form of Christianity known as Bogomilism, then converted in large numbers to Islam when the Ottoman Turks conquered them.

A second theory says that the Muslim Slavs were Serbs who embraced Islam and settled in Bosnia. A third is that the Muslims were Turkish settlers from Anatolia who adopted the Serbo-Croatian language.

In any case, Islamization brought tangible economic and social benefits to those who converted while the Turks ruled their territory; by 1918 Muslim Slavs accounted for 91 percent of Bosnia's landowners and a large portion of its merchants.

Many emigrated to Turkey, however, after the end of Ottoman rule, and the Yugoslav land reforms of 1918 impoverished previously prosperous Muslim Slav landowners."



**c. Widespread Islamic culture** "Islamic culture dominated Bosnia for centuries, and the region now boasts a wealth of mosques, medreseler (Islamic schools), tekkeler (dervish monasteries), Turkish inns and baths, graceful stone bridges, covered bazaars, cemeteries, and ornate Turkish-style homes.

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*Modern Western culture penetrated Bosnia and Herzegovina only after Austria occupied the region in 1878, but most Muslims saw its influence as alien and a portent of a Roman Catholic resurgence. Gradually, Latin and Cyrillic scripts replaced the Arabic that was used for centuries to write Turkish, Arabic, and Persian literature. After 1918 secular education began supplanting Islamic schools, and education became available to women. Many Muslim Slav landowners became urban tradesmen and craftsmen after losing their properties in the interwar land reform. Long after World War II, the Muslim Slavs engaged predominantly in traditional crafts and modern services such as auto and electronics repair."*

**d. Fundamentalist influence** *"In need of inexpensive oil supplies in the 1970s, the Tito government encouraged relations between Yugoslavia's Muslim Slavs and their coreligionists in the oil-rich Arab countries, especially Libya.*



*But by raising the status and visibility of its Muslim Slavs, Yugoslavia created another potential nationalist issue within its borders. In 1983 a dozen persons were convicted of fomenting religious and national hatred and planning to turn Bosnia into a religiously pure Islamic state.*

*The likelihood of major upheaval sponsored by Muslim fundamentalists abroad was considered small, however, because most of Yugoslavia's Muslim population belonged to the Sunni branch of Islam not in sympathy with the main fundamentalist groups of the Middle East."*

**e. Cultural perspectives** Traits applicable to the Bosniak peoples include:

**(1) Secularized** For many Bosniaks, the practice of their Muslim faith is a relaxed, "religion of no heavy lifting."

Cultural observances include giving children Muslim names, practicing circumcision, and celebrating the feast at the end of Ramadan. Yet, many Bosniaks readily eat pork, drink slivovitsa and intermarry with Christians.

**(2) Turkish influence** Folk music, vocabulary, rural dress practice and food selections all show the prevalence of the Ottoman, Turkish heritage.

**(3) Current leadership** Alija Izetbegovic (AHL-ee-yah EEZ-eht-BEG-oh-veech) is the chairman of the Bosnian and Herzegovina collective presidency which also includes Momcilo Krajisnik (mohm-tseh-loh krah-yees-neek, [Serbian]) and Kresmir Zubak (krehs-meer zoo-bahk [Croatian]). All took office on 23 Oct 1996.

## 5. Albanians

**a. Overview** [The former] *"Yugoslavia's ethnic Albanians lived mainly in Kosovo (about 77 percent), southeastern Serbia (14 percent), Macedonia (officially about 20 percent, but probably much higher), and Montenegro (about 9 percent). In recent decades, a search for work drew ethnic Albanians to the [former Yugoslavia's] larger cities as well as to Western Europe and North America.*

*Despite the fact that the 1.7 million ethnic Albanians counted in the 1981 census exceeded the populations of Macedonians and Montenegrins in Yugoslavia, Albanians were not recognized as a "nation" under the 1974 Constitution because, according to the Yugoslav government, their traditional homeland was outside Yugoslavia.*

*In general, Albanian culture was practiced more openly in Yugoslavia than in Albania, where the remains of Stalinist suppression limited many aspects of self-expression. Thus, ironically, Yugoslavia was the only place where some Albanian traditions were preserved."*



**b. History** "Albanians were once a mostly Roman Catholic people. After the Ottoman Turks conquered them in the fifteenth century, many Albanian families gained economic and social advantages by converting to Islam. By 1990 only about 10 percent of Kosovo's ethnic Albanians were Catholic."

### c. The Kosovo Region

**(1) Serbian inroads** "In the late eighteenth century, Albanians held important posts in the Ottoman army, courts, and administration. Feudal economic relations survived among the ethnic Albanians of Kosovo and Macedonia until Serbia took those regions from the Ottoman Empire in 1913. After World War I, the Serbian government made repeated attempts to colonize Kosovo with the families of its officer corps.

Under Serbia, Albanians enjoyed no voice in local administration, no schools, and no publications in their own language in the interwar period. Serbs and Montenegrins dominated the administration of Kosovo from 1946 to 1966, despite the numerical superiority of the Kosovan Albanians, their postwar recognition as a distinct nationality, and the introduction of Albanian-language schools and publications."



## (2) Albanian resurgence



*"In 1966 Aleksandar Rankovic, the Serbian head of the Yugoslav secret police, fell from power, and Kosovan Albanians assumed a dominant position in the province."*

*After 1968 Albanians were permitted to display the national flag of Albania in Kosovo and adopt the official Albanian literary language, which is based on the dialect of Albania rather than that spoken in Kosovo. Cultural exchanges introduced teachers from Albania and textbooks printed in Albania. Yugoslavia's 1974 Constitution gave Kosovo virtually the same rights as the country's constituent republics; nowhere in Europe had such far-ranging concessions to national rights been granted in a region considered so potentially separatist.*

*After that time, however, the clash of extreme Serbian and Kosovan nationalist ideologies caused a Serbian nationalist backlash that revoked many of those concessions."*

**(3) Cultural realities** *"For centuries, ethnic Albanian villagers in Kosovo lived in extended families of 70 to 100 members ruled by a patriarch."*



*Although the traditional extended family structure eroded steadily after World War II, in 1990 extended families of twenty to forty members still lived within walled compounds. Blood vengeance, arranged marriages, and polygamy were not uncommon. Many Albanian women lived secluded in the home, subordinate to male authority, and with little or no access to education."*

#### (4) Statistics

*"In 1990 Yugoslavia's ethnic Albanians had the highest birthrate in Europe, and more than half of Kosovo's Albanians were under twenty years old in the late 1970s. The birth rate strained the region's already desperate economy and depressed the Albanians' standard of living in every area. The ethnic Albanians also had Yugoslavia's lowest literacy rate: 68.5 percent of individuals over age ten were able to read in 1979. In 1981 only 178,000 of 1.5 million Albanians in Kosovo were employed; one in four of those employed held nominal bureaucratic positions. Meanwhile, the student population of 470,000 was a constant source of political unrest and potentially higher unemployment upon graduation."*

**(5) Recent trends** *"The Serbian-Albanian struggle for Kosovo, the heartland of Serbia's medieval kingdom, dominated Serbia's political life and café conversation in the 1980s.*



*Between 1948 and 1990, the Serbian share of Kosovo's population dropped from 23.6 percent to less than 10 percent, while the ethnic Albanian share increased in proportion because of a high birthrate and immigration from Albania. The demographic change was also the result of political and economic conditions; the postwar Serbian exodus from Kosovo accelerated in 1966 after ethnic Albanian communist leaders gained control of the province, and...*

*Kosovo remained the most poverty-stricken region of Yugoslavia in spite of huge government investments.*

*After reasserting political control over Kosovo in 1989, the Serbian government announced an ambitious program to resettle Serbs in Kosovo, but the plan attracted scant interest among Serbian émigrés from the region."*

**(6) Current status** In an article entitled "Flurry of Violence as Another Balkan Ethnic Hot Spot Smolders," author Chris Hedges recounts the despair felt by many Kosovo Albanians in being left out of the Dayton peace accords. Says Sami Korteshi, a self-exiled political scientist who was from Kosovo, "The Kosovo Liberation Army will probably soon become a major political force in Kosovo." (New York Times, 4 May 1997).

Recent (March 1998) events of Serbian violence in the region and Albanian unrest testify to the tenuous nature of peace in Kosovo.

## 6. Slovenes

**a. Overview** "The Slovenes were among the most westernized but least numerous of the Slavs. About two million strong, they lived almost exclusively in the mountainous Republic of Slovenia and in enclaves in Austria and Italy bordering Slovenia. The Slovenes never possessed an independent state, but lived within German-dominated empires from Charlemagne's day to the end of World War I.

*From the thirteenth to the twentieth century, they were ruled by the Austrian Habsburgs. Centuries of exposure to a strong Germanic, Roman Catholic culture fostered qualities that distinguish the Slovenes from the Croats, who lived under the Hungarians, and the Serbs, who lived under the Turks, during the same period.*

*The tenacity of the Slovenian drive for ethnic and cultural survival was evident under German cultural hegemony and surfaced again when the Slovenes spearheaded the drive for democratic reforms in communist Yugoslavia in the late 1980s."*

**b. History** "Slovenian cultural self-awareness dates from the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Counterreformation. Propagandists for both sides made use of the Slovenian language, which at the time was exclusively a peasant idiom.

This bolstering of the Slovenes' linguistic identity laid the foundation for the later growth of a Slovenian sense of national identity, which began in earnest after Napoleon's armies occupied Slovene-populated regions in the early nineteenth century and promoted the idea of a Slovene nation. One of the few monuments to Napoleon outside France remains in Ljubljana, as evidence of Napoleonic influence on the Slovenes.



Intellectuals trained by the Catholic clergy led the Slovenian national movement through the nineteenth century. Led by the Romantic poet France Preseren, they established Slovenian as a literary language and produced a rich national literature. Slovenian leaders sought political and cultural autonomy under the Habsburgs rather than territorial independence. Although they sympathized with their coreligionist Croats, the Slovenes had no interest in uniting with the Orthodox Serbs until World War I."

**c. World war realities** "The Slovenes were by far the most economically advanced of the South Slavs at the close of the nineteenth century, and Slovenia maintained that position in the interwar years. Widespread primogeniture (land inheritance by the oldest son) in Slovenia limited the land fragmentation that plagued the Balkans. Credit and marketing cooperatives saved rural Slovene families from the chronic indebtedness that afflicted other regions in the 1920s and 1930s.

The Slovenes' readiness to negotiate and compromise also served them well in the interwar era.

*Their most important contribution to interwar Yugoslavia's parade of coalition governments was Monsignor Antun Korosec, leader of the conservative Populist Party. Korosec, an effective spokesman for Slovene interests, headed several Yugoslav ministries in the late 1920s and early 1930s. The Slovenes' linguistic distinctiveness and distance from Belgrade kept their republic free of the Serbian bureaucrats who gained strong influence over other republics during the interwar years."*

### d. Proficiency

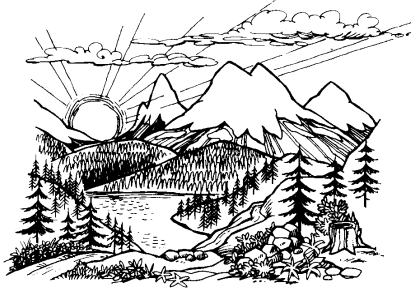
*"Slovenia's level of prosperity remained higher than that of the other Yugoslav republics throughout the socialist era."*



*Because its per capita income was highest, the republic contributed a higher per capita share to Yugoslavia's federal funds than any other republic. The Slovenes complained that the less-developed republics exploited them and that as a result their standard of living slipped precipitously relative to that in the neighboring regions of Austria and Italy. Nevertheless, among the Yugoslav republics, Slovenia had the highest proportion of its population employed in industry, the lowest rate of unemployment, and the highest value of exports per capita.*

*Slovenia also boasted Europe's second-highest literacy rate in the 1980s. Throughout the turbulent late 1980s, the Slovenes maintained a strong sense of cultural continuity and a devout belief in Roman Catholicism."*

## 7. Montenegrins



**a. Overview** "A robust mountain people with a warrior tradition, the Montenegrins were the smallest in population of Yugoslavia's nations. In 1981 they made up 68.5 percent of Montenegro's population, 1.6 percent of Serbia's, 2.1 percent of Vojvodina's, and 1.7 percent of Kosovo's.

The Montenegrins and the Serbs shared strong political and cultural ties, including the Eastern Orthodox faith, the Cyrillic alphabet, the Serbo-Croatian language (different dialects), and a history of bloody struggle against the Ottoman Turks. Many historians maintain that the Montenegrins are Serbs. Montenegro's most renowned poet and ruler, the nineteenth-century bishop-prince Petar Petrovi Njegos, considered himself a Serb; likewise, the founder of Serbia's medieval kingdom, Stefan I Nemanja, was born in Podgorica, now Titograd, capital of Montenegro."

**b. History** "For centuries Montenegrin society was composed of patrilineally related extended families organized into clans. The extended family tradition lasted well into the twentieth century. Loyalty to kin and protection of family honor were the paramount values.



Civic responsibility was a foreign notion, and pragmatism a sign of weakness. Scratching out a living in the remote, rocky hills, the Montenegrins stubbornly defended their independence against incursions by the Ottoman Turks. Personal tenacity and combat skills were the most valued male virtues; women tended the fields and livestock, maintained the home, nursed the wounded, and nourished the next generation of warriors. Stories of ancestral courage and honor were passed from one generation to the next by bards who recited epic

poems to the accompaniment of a gusle, a simple, single-string instrument. Practices such as bride theft and blood brotherhood were common, and blood vengeance survived late in the twentieth century."

**c. World war realities** "After World War I, political forces in Montenegro were deeply divided between the Greens, who supported an independent Montenegro, and the Whites, who advocated unification with Serbia. The Whites prevailed, and in censuses taken during the interwar period Montenegrins were classified as Serbs. Montenegrins played a significant role in the defense forces of the interwar Kingdom of Yugoslavia."

#### **d. Under Tito's regime**

"Montenegrins enlisted in the communist Partisans in large numbers during World War II and were disproportionately represented in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) and the government after the war...The Montenegrins' postwar loyalty to the CPY yielded plentiful development funds for their republic."

For this reason, Montenegrin industries developed dramatically, although often without rational distribution of resources. Much investment was inordinately capital-intensive and wasted, and the republic suffered from low prices for the raw materials it sold to other republics."

## **8. Macedonians**

**a. History** "Beginning in the seventh century A.D., the area of the modern Republic of Macedonia was overwhelmingly populated by Slavs; and in the ninth century, Macedonia produced the first flourish of Slavic literary activity."

Unresolved, however, is the specific nationality to which Macedonia's Slavs now belong. The Bulgars, Serbs, and, even the Greeks claim them. Bulgaria recognized the Macedonian minority in the Pirin region that it retained after World War II. In the late 1980s, however, neither Bulgaria nor Greece recognized a Macedonian nationality: Bulgaria insisted that Macedonia's Slavs were Bulgars; Greece maintained that the adjective "Macedonian" was only a territorial designation, and that the inhabitants of Aegean Macedonia were not Slavs at all but ethnic Greeks who happened to speak a Slavic language.

By contrast, beginning in the 1960s the Yugoslav government gave the Macedonians the nominal status of a separate 'nation,' to forestall Greek and Bulgarian claims."



**b. Ottoman rule** "Macedonia was the first of the Yugoslav lands to fall under the Ottoman Turks and the last to be freed from Ottoman rule. The...centuries of Ottoman domination left the region's Slavs backward, illiterate, and unsure of their ethnic identity.

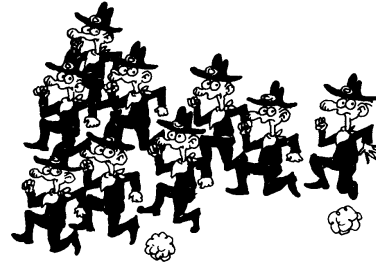
In the nineteenth century, Bulgarian, Serbian, and Greek clergymen established church schools in the region and worked to spread their respective national ideologies through education. Families often compromised by sending one child to each type of school, and whole villages frequently passed through several phases of religious and national reorientation."



### c. Balkan Wars

*"After the end of Ottoman rule, control of Macedonia became the most inflammatory issue of Balkan politics. After a period of guerrilla warfare, terrorism, and savage reprisals ending with Bulgaria's defeat in the Second Balkan War in 1913, an anti-Bulgarian campaign began in the areas of Macedonia left under Serbian and Greek control.*

*Bulgarian schools and churches were closed, and thousands of Macedonians fled to Bulgaria, which then was viewed as a place of refuge."*



**d. World war realities** *"The process was repeated after Bulgaria's World War I occupation of Macedonia ended. In the interwar period, Macedonian terrorist groups, with intermittent Bulgarian support, continued armed resistance against the Yugoslav government. The Yugoslavs refused to recognize a Macedonian nation, but many Macedonians accepted Yugoslav control in the 1930s and 1940s. Bulgarian occupation in 1941, first greeted as liberation, soon proved as offensive as the Yugoslav assimilation program it replaced; the sense of confused allegiance among Macedonians thus continued into the postwar period."*

### e. Nationhood

*"After World War II, the Yugoslav government recognized Macedonian nationhood and established a separate republic, energetically nurturing Macedonian national consciousness and the Macedonian language. The first standardized Macedonian grammar was published in 1948. Federal support for Macedonian cultural institutions, including a university in Skopje, furthered the program of national recognition. In 1967 Belgrade underscored the Macedonians' ethnic individuality by supporting the independence of the Macedonian Orthodox Church..."*

## 9. Gypsies

*"Yugoslavia had one of the largest Gypsy populations in the world. The 1981 census officially recorded 168,099 Gypsies in the country, but unofficial counts estimated the Gypsy population as five to six times larger."*



*The Gypsies suffered many serious social problems, and intolerance of Gypsies by other ethnic groups was still prevalent in the northern parts of Yugoslavia in the 1980s. A high percentage of Gypsies were illiterate or had only a few years of primary education. Despite government attempts to lure them into schools and paying jobs, many Gypsies continued to live a nomadic existence as traders, beggars, and fortune-tellers. During the 1980s, large conventions periodically demanded full recognition of Yugoslav Gypsies as a separate nationality; the federal government reached no decision on their proposals, although some concessions were made. Meanwhile, the Gypsies undeniably added a unique element to Yugoslav culture: Gypsy musicians played at most weddings, and Gypsy street bands played music for handouts on holiday weekends."*

Racial hatred and violence toward gypsies in the region persists. In an article entitled "Another Victim, 14, in Serbia's War on Gypsies," author Chris Hedges identifies the prejudice and discrimination felt by many gypsies--especially children--in Serbia today. Says Dragan Stankovic, head of Belgrade's gypsy community, "We have always lived as second-class citizens, but we are not willing now to die because we are second-class citizens." (New York Times, 22 Oct 1997).

## Vocabulary List: Ethnic Groups

**Belgrade** (bel-GRAYD) Capital of Serbia

**Bosniak** (BAHZ-nee-ahk) Current term of identification for Bosnian Muslim peoples

**Habsburg** (HAPS-buhrg) German princely family prominent since the 11th century, which provided leadership for Austria and other European states

**Izetbegovic, Alija** (AHL-ee-yah EEZ-eht-BEG-oh-veech) Chairman of the Bosnian and Herzegovina collective presidency

**Karadzic, Rahdovan** (rah-DOH-vahn KAHR-ah-jeech) Convicted Serb war criminal, still in protected hiding most likely in Bosnia and Herzegovina

**Kosovo** (KOH-soh-voh) Southwestern province of Serbia inhabited by nearly two million ethnic Albanians and 20,000 Serbs.

**Krajina** (krah-YEE-nah) Serbian held enclaves within Croatia. Originally Krajina was an administrative region during the Austria/Hungarian Empire. After 1831, jurisdiction once again returned to the Croatian Parliament. Serbian forces referred to Croatian areas they occupied as Krajinass (up to one third of Croatia). In 1995, Operation Storm liberated the region. Currently, the term Krajina may approach "hot button" status.

**Ljubljana** (lyoo-BLYHAN-ah) Capital city of Slovenia

**Magyar** National language and people of Hungary

**Milosevic, Slobodan** (mil-OH-sha-veech) Current president of Serbia

**Novi Sad** (noh-vee-SAHD) Main city of Serb province of Vojvodina

**Podgorica** (pohd-GOHR-eets-ah) Main city of Montenegro

**Pristina** (PREESH-tee-nah) Main city of Serb province of Kosovo

**Sarajevo** (sahr-ah-YAY-voh) Capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina

**Skopje** (SKOHP-lyee-ah) Capital of Macedonia

**Slivovitsa** (shlee-voh-VEETS-ah) Serb fruit (plum) brandy

**Tudjman, Franjo** (fran-yo TOOJ-mahn) Current president of  
Croatia

**Vojvodina** (Voi-voh-DEE-nah) Northeastern province of Serbia

**Zagreb** (ZAH-grehb) Capital of Croatia

## Review Quiz: Ethnic Groups



**Part 1--Multiple Choice** Place the letter of the most correct response in the blank provided.

1. \_\_\_\_\_ The former Yugoslavia's most populous and dispersed nationality is the
  - a. Bosniaks.
  - b. Croats.
  - c. Serbs.
  
2. \_\_\_\_\_ The prime repository of Serb culture during the Ottoman period was
  - a. the Serbian Orthodox Church.
  - b. Magyar civil servants.
  - c. unattached historians, artists and clan leaders.
  
3. \_\_\_\_\_ One of the major factors triggering militant backlash by Croats, Macedonians and Albanians during the interwar period was
  - a. Hungarian attempts to impose the Hungarian language on the Balkans.
  - b. proselytizing efforts by Greek and Serbian Orthodox churches in the region.
  - c. Serb influence and domination in Yugoslavian military, social and political affairs.
  
4. \_\_\_\_\_ Passionate Serb nationalist revival occurred in the late 1980s due, in part, to
  - a. post-World War II distribution and migration of Serb peoples throughout the former Yugoslavia.
  - b. official recognition of Serbian Orthodoxy by the Pope.
  - c. bumper crops of fruits used in making slivovitsa.

## Unit 9: Ethnic Groups

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5. Croatian peoples have seen themselves for decades as
- a. cultured Western Europeans.
  - b. an embittered "us-against-the-world" people.
  - c. connoisseurs of fine Turkish coffee.
6. A key event in development of the Croatian nationalist sentiments was
- a. frustration over being ruled periodically by Ottomans, Hungarians, Venetians and Austrians.
  - b. Hungary's drive to make Magyar Croatia's national language.
  - c. brutalities experienced under the Nazis in World War II.
7. \_\_\_\_\_ The Ustase during World War II desired to rid
- a. Bosnia of all Croatians.
  - b. Croatia of all Serbs.
  - c. the Roman Catholic Church of all heretics.
8. \_\_\_\_\_ Tito's post-World War II government sought to
- a. encourage Serb nationalist feelings, since the military was made up primarily of Serbs.
  - b. wipe out all manifestations of Croat nationalism.
  - c. reward Croats for their economic prosperity and contribution to the Yugoslav economy.
9. \_\_\_\_\_ What was NOT a result of the 1990 rush of Croat nationalism?
- a. Croats desired to distinguish their language by introducing Slavic-root words.
  - b. Franjo Tudjman was elected to parliament.
  - c. Communist party members effectively chilled the "Croatian spring."
10. \_\_\_\_\_ Muslim Slavs in the former Yugoslavia received government recognition
- a. immediately following World War I.
  - b. immediately following Tito's taking of political power.
  - c. in the late 1960s.

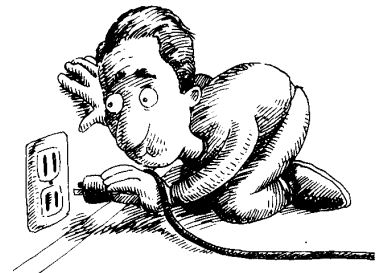
11. \_\_\_\_\_ By 1918, Bosniaks accounted for what percentage of Bosnia's land owners?
- a. 37%
  - b. 56%
  - c. 91%
12. \_\_\_\_\_ After World War II, many Bosniaks
- a. developed innovative real estate and land ownership procedures.
  - b. sought to exploit their position as instructors of Islam thought in government schools.
  - c. became urban tradespersons and crafts experts.
13. \_\_\_\_\_ In the former Yugoslavia, Albanians were not recognized as a nation under the constitution because the Yugoslavian government
- a. of Tito did not like Albanians.
  - b. saw their traditional homeland to be outside of Yugoslavia.
  - c. held all peoples to be equal--Macedonians, Montenegrins and Albanians.
14. \_\_\_\_\_ What is NOT true about the Kosovo region of Serbia?
- a. Albanians are numerically superior.
  - b. Albanian language schools and publications are present.
  - c. Albanians dominated Kosovo administration from 1946 - 1966.
15. \_\_\_\_\_ In the early 1990s, ethnic Albanians of the former Yugoslavia possessed \_\_\_\_\_ in the Balkans.
- a. the highest employment rate
  - b. one of the highest standards of living
  - c. the lowest literacy rate
16. \_\_\_\_\_ Slovenian national identity began in earnest after \_\_\_\_\_ armies occupied the region.
- a. Hitler's
  - b. Napoleon's
  - c. Otto von Bismarck's

## Unit 9: Ethnic Groups

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17. \_\_\_\_\_ In the 1980s, Slovenia's literacy rate was
- a. Europe's second highest.
  - b. Yugoslavia's second highest.
  - c. unknown.
18. \_\_\_\_\_ and Serb peoples share strong political and cultural ties.
- a. Macedonian
  - b. Montenegrin
  - c. Albanian
19. \_\_\_\_\_ In the late 1980s, Yugoslavia had one of the \_\_\_\_\_ gypsy populations in the world.
- a. smallest
  - b. largest
  - c. most oppressed
20. \_\_\_\_\_ In Macedonia in the 19th century, Serb, Greek and \_\_\_\_\_ clergypersons established religious schools in the region.
- a. Islamic
  - b. Bulgarian
  - c. Roman Catholic

**Part 2--True/False** Place a T or an F in the blank provided.



1. \_\_\_\_\_ Historically, southern Slav peoples come from the same Slavic stock.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ Croatian officers dominated the Yugoslav Army Corps on the eve of World War II.
3. \_\_\_\_\_ By the end of the 19th century, many Croat peoples were involved in heavy industrial pursuits.



4. \_\_\_\_\_ The best known theory for origins of the Muslim Slavs (Bosniaks) sees them as Turkish settlers who adopted the Serbian and Croatian languages.
5. \_\_\_\_\_ Islamic culture has dominated Bosnia for centuries.
6. \_\_\_\_\_ Many analysts see Bosnia and Herzegovina as ripe for an Iranian style Muslim fundamentalist takeover.
7. \_\_\_\_\_ Under Tito's rule, Albanian culture was generally practiced more openly in Yugoslavia than in Albania.
8. \_\_\_\_\_ By the 1990s, Albanians in the former Yugoslavia possessed the lowest birthrate in SCE.
9. \_\_\_\_\_ Macedonia was the first of the South Slav lands to fall to the Ottoman Turks.
10. \_\_\_\_\_ Immediately after the end of Ottoman rule, control of Montenegro became the most inflammatory issue in SCE politics.



**Part 3--Matching** Place the letter of the most correct answer in the blank provided.

- |  |             |
|--|-------------|
| 1. _____ Much regional variety         | a. Serbs    |
| 2. _____ Peasant based                 | b. Croats   |
| 3. _____ President Alija Izetbegovic   | c. Bosniaks |
| 4. _____ President Slobodan Milosevic  |             |
| 5. _____ Tall and often Roman Catholic |             |
| 6. _____ "Texans" of the South Slavs   |             |

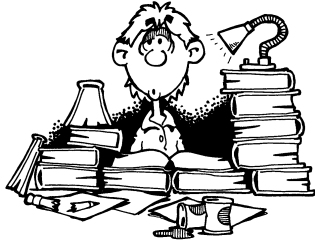
## Unit 9: Ethnic Groups

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- 7. \_\_\_\_\_ Last defense against Ottoman advances
- 8. \_\_\_\_\_ Tendency to side with Russia
- 9. \_\_\_\_\_ Often intermarry, eat pork, and drink slivovitsa
- 10. \_\_\_\_\_ President Franjo Tudjman



"Vow to do your best."



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## Resources for Further Study-- Ethnic Groups

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Serbian government troop action during an all-night "battle with some 200 ethnic Albanian militants" who tried to enter Kosovo from Albania.

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Hedges, Chris. "Albanian Loyalists in Kosovo Circle the Wagons." New York Times, 2 August 1998, p. 4.

Albanians who are loyal to the Serbian government face ill treatment at the hands of separatist Albanians.

Hedges, Chris. "Ethnic Albanians Leave Northern Europe To Fight in Anti-Serb Rebellion in Kosovo." New York Times, 6 June 1998, p. A5.

Many young ethnic Albanians are leaving their jobs, homes and families in northern Europe to join the Kosovo Liberation Army to fight against the Yugoslavian government in Kosovo.

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"In Lausa [near Pristina] and other villages of Kosovo, ethnic Albanians live in fear of Serb police and paramilitary units, whose recent attacks left about 80 people dead."

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"Kosovo isn't another Bosnia. It came first, and could be worse."

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"The awful parallels of ethnic hatred are visible in Kosovo."

Hedges, Chris. "In New Balkan Tinderbox, Ethnic Albanians Rebel Against Serbs." New York Times, 2 March 1998, p. A1.

Description of rebel guerrillas of the Kosovo Liberation Army, ethnic Albanians who want an independent Albanian state in the region. "Diplomats fear that the growing violence between the rebels and the Serbs could set off a wider Balkan war."

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Description of practice of Ibrahim Rugova, president of the "self-declared Republic of Kosovo," who says he "is passionately committed to nonviolence, condemning the kind of tit-for-tat atrocities that have plagued the Balkans for decades..."

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Article describing Serbian police action in Kosovo which resulted in the deaths of three ethnic Albanians.

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The Organization for Security and Cooperation has sent 2000 observers to Kosovo to monitor pledges made by Yugoslavian president Slobodan Milosevic. However, the observers have no clear guidelines for what can be done if Milosevic breaks his word.

O'Conner, Mike. "Harried Monitors Still Searching for 20,000 Kosovo Refugees." New York Times, 30 July 1998, p. A11.

Diplomats tracking human rights abuses in Kosovo say they have been unable to learn the fate of more than 20,000 civilians who fled on Tuesday from a Yugoslav Government counteroffensive against ethnic Albanian rebels.

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O'Conner, Mike. "Kosovo Refugees: Pawns in a NATO-Serb Clash?" New York Times, 24 August 1998, p. A3.

Refugees in Kosovo are being caught between NATO which is threatening air strikes if the Yugoslav government does not pull out its troops, and the Yugoslav government which has been on the offensive in Kosovo since July.

O'Conner, Mike. "Rebel Terror Forcing Minority Serbs Out of Kosovo." New York Times, 31 August 1998, p. A3.

Ethnic Albanian rebels are terrorizing the Serbian minority in Kosovo, causing many of them to flee.

O'Conner, Mike. "Rebels Claim First Capture Of a City In Kosovo." New York Times, 20 July 1998, p. A3.

Ethnic Albanian separatists said that they had taken the city of Orahovac in Serbia, their first city, and that they will use their newly acquired weapons to keep it.

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The Serbian Army recaptured Orahovac, Serbia, but even though they remain in control, much of the population is sympathetic with Albanian rebels which makes maintaining that control difficult.

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The Yugoslav Army deployed 2 battalions of soldiers, tanks, and artillery in response to the killing of three Serbian police officers by snipers from the ethnic Albanian Kosovo Liberation Army. These two battalions, however, don't violate the terms of the Yugoslavian withdrawal from Kosovo.

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Many ethnic Albanian refugees are stranded in the Cicavica hills, too scared to move but living in precarious conditions with little food and only flimsy shelters fashioned from trees, blankets and plastic for the cold nights.

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Shenon, Philip. "U.S. Eyes Curbs on Belgrade As Albanian Deaths Mount." New York Times, 25 April, 1998.

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Whitney, Craig. "Frustrated by Kosovo Stalemate, the West Criticizes All Sides." New York Times, 9 July 1998, p. A9.

The countries monitoring the fighting in Kosovo, including the United States and Russia, acknowledge that the majority of the responsibility for the bloodshed lies with Serbia, but they are also critical of the ethnic Albanian rebels.



"When times are hard--whether you are in the middle of a military or corporate fire-fight--people cling to leaders they know they can trust--those who are not detached--but involved--and those who have consciences--who stand for something bigger than themselves--who do not dodge unpleasantness--who have the moral courage and strength of character to do what they know in their hearts to be the right thing."

General Charles Krulak, Draft remarks before Conoco's Annual Senior Management Meeting, 2 March 1998